

MR. DUNCAN, OF OHIO,

Alexander
49
 In the House of Representatives, March 6, 1844.—On the bill introduced by him to regulate the election of electors for President and Vice President and members of Congress throughout the United States.

Mr. DUNCAN spoke as follows:

There is no higher duty we owe to ourselves, to each other, and to our country, in whatever situation we may be placed, or whatever sphere in life we may fill, than to understand the nature of our government, and the civil institutions by which our rights are to be maintained as citizens, and by which our civil duties and obligations towards each other are to be regulated. This duty is not more binding upon us in a civil than in a political sense. It is indispensable to a faithful discharge of our duties as private citizens that we should understand the duties of a citizen. Those duties involve a knowledge of the legal and political restraints which civil government throws upon us and brings us under. These civil duties and obligations are common to, and binding upon, all men in a state of organized society, whatever the form of government may be; but we, as American citizens, in addition, to these duties, owe some of a higher character which may more properly be denominated political duties, which I contradi-
 distinguish from civil duties for the purpose of illustration. Civil duties, and a knowledge of the obligations which civil duties impose, appertain to the subjects of a monarchy or an aristocracy. The same civil duties, in proportion to the requisitions of law, appertain to the citizens of a republican government; but owing to the fact that each individual here is not only a citizen, but also a member of the republic, and a part of the law-making power, he owes some higher duties than a mere citizen. Those higher duties I call political duties. Obedience is the duty of the humble subject of the monarchial government, while command, is the prerogative of the monarch; but in a republican government, the duties of obedience and submission are united with the prerogative to command, in the same person. Such is the nature of our government. With us, no man can be so low as to shake off the duties of legal and constitutional submission; no man can be so high as to be exempt from them. No man can be so low (in crime excepted) as to excuse himself from a participation in the duties of governing. No man can be so high as to transcend exemption from the obligations and duties of the most humble citizen, or to exercise powers in the establishment of rules of civil conduct, not common to each and every citizen, only as that power is delegated to him by the suffrage of those he represents, in whatever official position he may occupy. And this leads me to an exposé of the character of our government. That I do, not only in conformity with a high duty which I owe as a citizen in common, but as a representative; I do it not only because we cannot too frequently refer to first principles, whether in a private or in an official capacity; but because the bill under consideration, in its defence

and advancement, requires such an exposé, in order to illustrate the absolute necessity of this bill becoming a law.

Sir, our government is a government of the people. It was created by the people; it is sustained by the people; and the people are the government, to every political purpose and intent. And in these consist the great and fundamental difference between a republican (or democratic) form of government and all others. I believe there are but three distinct forms of government regarded as fundamental, viz: a monarchical, an aristocratical, and a republican form; all others are modifications or mixtures of those. All governments were republican in their origin; no people ever were so blind to their own interests, and so regardless of their individual privileges and natural rights, as to surrender them into the hands of any one man or set of men, to dispense them at his or their pleasure or caprice. I make another assertion—that is, that man possesses all the requisites for self-government; and to deny those requisites is a slander on the human family, and a base imputation on the Almighty. I also assert, that no government ever fell by the corruptions of the people. Why, then (it has been and will be asked) have all republics fallen? Why have all governments which depended upon the aggregate wisdom and stability of the people, failed? It is part of my purpose, in my support of the present bill, to answer these interrogatories. At present, I wish to define and illustrate the character of our government; and, for that purpose, to illustrate the principles of other governments, and to expose the difference, to the end that ours may be the better understood.

A monarchical government is that which concentrates all power, legislative, judicial, and ministerial, in the hands of a single individual. An aristocracy is that form of government which places the same powers, and the same amount of power, in the hands of a few individuals. Such governments are called absolute monarchies, or absolute aristocracies, as the case may be—absolute, because the mass of the people have no participation in making, adjudicating upon, or executing the laws by which they are governed. Their civil duties consist in submission and obedience; prerogative duties in commanding submissive obedience to the laws which they have no hand in making, and submission and obedience to the adjudication of laws, without any part in the adjudication and submission, and obedience to the execution of the laws, without any share in the execution, only as the subjects of execution. In such governments, the people are a kind of political automatons, without political will or volition, which move merely as they are moved by the will of the laws which govern them, or the will of him or them who make the laws. Such a people may bear, in their external form, the image of their Maker for a time, but have the soul of Balaam's ass; and in time will become asses both in soul and body. A monarchy and an aristocracy may both assume a representative character, by a

delegation of the prerogatives or law making, law adjudication, and law execution, which is most generally the case in extensive monarchies and aristocracies: but representative change does not change the character of the government; it only operates to the ease of the monarch, or to those holding power in an aristocracy, not to the relief or enfranchisement of the people. Those who receive the delegation of such prerogatives, are the representatives of the original power; and it is his will, power, and interests, they are bound to promote—not the interests of the people. And it is most generally the case, that representative monarchies and aristocracies are the most oppressive of all governments; they increase taxation, and oppress still more by means of collection, without, in any particular, elevating the character or condition of the subject. But I have neither time nor space to pursue the investigation in detail; it is sufficient to say they are, both in their nature and practical operation, calculated to oppress the subject, and are worse than no government. I would prefer anarchy; I would rather die in defence of my natural rights, than live a slave. A republican government, I repeat, is a government of the people. The people and the government, in a political sense, are the same. I have said, in all republics, all political prerogatives belong to the people: this is literally true. Though our government is a representative democracy, yet all power is in the hands of the people; and their representatives are but their agents, bound by their will, responsible to them, and removable at their will. It was impossible, at the commencement, that ours could be any thing but a representative democracy; our population was too great, and our territory was too wide spread to admit of a simple democracy. The framers of our government were compelled to give us a representative democracy—that is, to authorize us to appoint agents to do that for us, which we, according to the fundamental principles of democracy, should have done ourselves. Our ancestors, in the formation of our government, provided the means by which we should appoint our agents. The power and the means by which we appoint our political agents or representatives, is called the elective franchise. To define all of our free institutions which make up our proud and glorious political fabric, is foreign to my present purpose, nor does the support of the present bill require such a range. There is one of our free institutions which I propose very briefly to discuss—I mean the elective franchise. That is one which, of all others, demands our attention, our consideration, and our especial guardianship. Of all our proud institutions, that is the proudest; of all our free institutions, that is the most valuable. It is the soul and the body of our republic; it is the basis of our political fabric; it is the foundation of all our free institutions. Destroy it, and our government loses its name, and all our free institutions are annihilated. They become, in an instant, a part of the dust of other republics; and, with them, must be numbered among the things that are not. The elective franchise is not only the arch of our own, and every other republic, and the main pillar of the temple of liberty, but it is the rule by which freedom is measured; for, just in proportion to the exercise of the elective franchise, so are any people free and sovereign. Freedom and the elective franchise are synonymous terms and handmaidens. The one has no abiding-place without the other. They walk hand in hand together; they live together; they die together. The framers of our government were so

conscious of the vast importance of the elective franchise, that they interwove it in the political institutions of our country in such a manner that it could not be destroyed without bringing ruin upon all others. Our ancestors had a right to expect that this franchise, which was purchased with the blood of thousands, and with the treasure of millions, would be appreciated as a rich legacy—would never be squandered. They had a right to suppose that those moral, political, and patriotic obligations and sacred covenants which descended upon their posterity, would forever be a secure guaranty against all innovations upon that sacred institution. They had a right to suppose that no son of theirs would be so prodigal and reckless as to squander that legacy which was to provide peace, happiness, freedom, and independence to millions, and for all time. They had a right to hope that no wretch would be found base enough to corrupt that franchise upon whose purity depended the duration of all the free institutions purchased with their blood and their treasure. But, not content with that hope and that confidence which they had a right to indulge—not content with the obligations of patriotism upon those who were to inherit the rich legacy of their toil, they superseded religion and morality. They interwove, in the official duties of all who were to have the safe keeping of the elective franchise, a solemn oath. They required the individual whom choice or the law was to select to guard the purity of the elective franchise, to appear at the throne of the Judge of the living and the dead, and in His presence and in His name to bind themselves to permit no unhallowed foot to tread upon that sacred franchise. Such is the value of the elective franchise, and such are the means provided to defend and preserve it in its purity. But, in order that this sacred institution shall remain pure, and shall the more completely maintain all our other free institutions, our constitutions and laws have wisely defined the manner in which it shall be used, the time when it shall be used, the place where it shall be used, by whom it shall be used, and the circumstances under which it shall be used. A violation of any of those provisions is a violation of the constitutions and of the laws regulating the use of the elective franchise, and a corruption and violation of the franchise itself; and he who is guilty of it, is guilty of treason the most dangerous and aggravated; and if the sworn officer, whose duty it is to guard and defend that franchise, has wilfully or negligently permitted such violation, he is guilty of both treason and perjury. And upon the same principle, he who holds an office in corruption of the elective franchise, and in violation of the constitution, is equally guilty of treason, inasmuch as both are violations of a sacred and fundamental principle of the government. All republics have placed a high estimate on the elective franchise, and have imposed penalties for its violations and abuses in proportion to its magnitude.

I believe in the Grecian States, in their republican days, a violation of the elective franchise was punished by death. It was also a penal offence for a citizen of one State to vote in, or meddle with, the institutions of another. Such an offence was looked upon and punished as treason. It is so, and is and has been considered so, in every republic. An abuse of the elective franchise is a violation of a fundamental principle of the government, and an attempt to overthrow the government itself. No institution should be guarded with such jealous care as that

of the elective franchise; for the overthrow of all others put together, would not so much endanger our liberties. It is the highest duty that every citizen owes to himself, to his country, to the memory of his ancestors, to their blood and treasure spilled and expended in the great revolution by which we were redeemed; and, above all, to those who are to come after him, to preserve this franchise in its pristine purity, and to transmit it unsullied to posterity.

My next object is to show that the elective franchise has been basely violated, and the ballot-box most corruptly abused. If I can do that, I will have shown good reasons why this bill should pass, or some other one that will prevent such abuse and such corruption hereafter.

I have stated that our constitutions and laws have defined the manner in which the elective franchise shall be used, as well as who shall be entitled to its exercise; and the same rules prohibit its use in any other way than those prescribed, and by any other persons than those designated. For this purpose, election precincts are established in every county in every State in the Union. By the wisdom of our law-makers, those precincts are small; they have also provided for the appointment of a class of officers called judges of election, whose duty it is to know of themselves, or by information, all persons who are or are not entitled to the use of the elective franchise. The judges are sworn to receive no vote from the hand of any one not entitled to a vote within the precinct, and to reject all votes from persons living without the precinct, whether citizens of the State or the United States, or not. The object of those provisions and guards is to secure the elective franchise from abuse. Our constitutions and laws have peculiarly guarded the States from interference with each other in relation to the privilege or the abuse of the ballot-box; and all elections are declared void which are vitiated by illegal votes—whether by illegal votes from the hand of those who have no right to vote, or, having a right to vote, vote in the precinct, county, or State, other than that designated as the proper place to vote. It is now my purpose to show that the elective franchise has been violated in all the particulars which I have mentioned, but more especially by persons voting in States, counties, and precincts in which they had no right to vote, and in violation of express laws regulating elections, and defining the privileges of elections; and it is to prevent a repetition of such violations hereafter, and in all time, that I have introduced this bill. It would seem that the framers of the federal constitution had a presentiment of the possibility of the abuse of the elective franchise, in the very manner and by the very means by which it has been violated: hence they reserved the means to the federal Congress of preventing such an evil.

I hold in my hand the constitution of the United States. The fourth section of the first article reads thus:

“The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing senators.”

A part of article second, section first, reads thus:

“The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall

give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.”

And these, sir, are the constitutional authorities for the passage of the bill now under consideration. There never was a time, nor will there ever be a time, when it will be more proper for Congress to interfere and assert its constitutional authority in this matter than at this time.

It would seem, with the knowledge which we possess of the wholesale frauds and unvarnished treason that were practised in 1838 and '40, that it is an imperious duty which we owe to our situation, to the country, and the oath we have taken, to pass some law which will arrest a repetition of such frauds. I would be excusable in the mere assertion of the frauds upon the ballot-box, and violation of the elective franchise, practised in the elections of those years, so well are they known, and so firmly are they fixed in the convictions of this wide-spread community; but I have promised proofs and exposures, so I proceed to present some of them. I say some of them, for I have neither time nor space to give even those I have more than a bird's-eye glance, nor have I had time or opportunity to collect the one-thousandth part.

I hold in my hand a book. It is the journal of an investigating committee raised and authorized by the legislature of Ohio to investigate a contest between J. C. Wright, contestor, and G. W. Holmes, contestee, (all of the county of Hamilton,) who were candidates for the Ohio Senate at the annual election of 1840—the former as rank a blue-light federal whig as ever justified the Hartford convention, or worshipped a coon; the latter as pure and as firm a locofoco anti-bank Jeffersonian democrat as ever bore the name, or “skinned a coon;” both clever fellows, and highly respectable citizens in every personal and private sense. Holmes was the successful candidate; Wright contested his seat; and this book contains the evidence disclosed by the contest. It is a large book; it contains four hundred and twenty pages; and every page, from the title-page to the last page, is crowded in close lines and small type, with evidence of the basest frauds on the elective franchise. Well as the frauds of 1840 are understood, this book discloses frauds beyond suspicion, and almost beyond comprehension. Did I not owe it to my conscience, to my country, and to my office, and this constitution, which I have bound myself, with uplifted hand, and in presence of my God, to support,—for the honor of my country, and for the character of our republican institutions at home and abroad, I could wish this book, and all such evidence of frauds practised in that memorable 1840, were among the things that *never* were. But the evidence is here in books; it has a place in the knowledge and recollection of the people in this country; and it is matter of taunt and boast in other countries. So, our best plan is to use it, and expose it, to prevent a repetition of such frauds. Sir, I have evidence indisputable that not less than seven hundred voters were imported into the single county of Hamilton, at the election of 1840, to defeat the democratic ticket by a regular, organized system of swindling and pipelaying. A part of the evidence is contained in the journal to which I have referred; a part in the acknowledgments of those who participated in the frauds, not only as workers and conductors of the iniquity, but as voters also; but a larger part in letters which I received from persons residing in the interior of the State of Ohio, and

several other western States—letters received before the election, informing me that arrangements were making by the whigs to send voters by companies to defeat my election, and letters received after the election, informing me that companies had been sent, had voted, and boasted of having done their part to defeat "bully Duncan." I have said that I have neither time nor space to display but a small part of this mass of evidence. I can only present one of the most glaring items, and merely allude to the balance. Pipelayers flocked from other district, and other States—some on foot, some on horseback, some on mules, by wagon-loads, by stage-loads, and by steamboat-loads. My time will only permit me to notice the steamboat-loads. I will ask the clerk to read the following deposition. The clerk read:

57.—DEPOSITION OF JEFFERSON PEAK.

In the matter of the contested election, where the seat of George W. Holmes, in the Senate of the State of Ohio, is contested by an elector of Hamilton county, the said George W. Holmes appeared by his attorney, Thomas J. Henderson, at the clerk's office of the Gallatin circuit court, in the town of Warsaw, county of Gallatin, State of Kentucky, on the second day of December, 1840, agreeably to the annexed notice, and adjourned over until to-morrow morning, December 3, 1840, as endorsed on said notice.

DECEMBER 3, 1840.

Met pursuant to adjournment, when Jefferson Peak, a witness, produced on the part of said George W. Holmes, who being duly cautioned and sworn, deposes and says:

Question by Thos. J. Henderson, attorney for George W. Holmes.—Please to state if you know of any person or persons taken to Cincinnati to vote at the State election held on the 13th of October last; and if you know any thing about it, state all you know in relation to them?

Answer by Deponent.—I went on board the steamboat Mail, at this place, on the night previous to the State election in Ohio, for Lawrenceburg, Indiana, on business for Messrs. Peake and Roberts, of this place. On going aboard, I found the boat so much crowded, that there was no possible chance for sleep, either on the floor, or in a state-room or berth. As there were so many persons on board, over and above places for sleep, including the floor, myself, with a number of others, were compelled to sit up all night, or nearly so. I did get to lie down a short time before day by occupying another man's place on the floor, which he had just left.

During the night on our way up, nearly all the conversation seemed to be in relation to the Ohio election, that was to take place on the next day; and a great portion of the passengers that I saw that night did not have the appearance that cabin passengers usually have, though I did not see anything like all the passengers were on board, as I got off of said boat about daylight, at Lawrenceburg; and a great portion of them were in bed when I went on board, as every place seemed to be crowded; and the greater portion of those I saw seemed to be more like ruffians than otherwise. And when the boat stopped at Lawrenceburg to put me out, they sent me ashore in the yawl, and I had to pass through the lower deck to get to the yawl, and there appeared to be a great many persons on deck as well as in the cabin.

After remaining in Lawrenceburg a short time—probably one-and-a-half hour, I left for Cincinnati, Ohio, on board the steamboat Indiana, where we arrived about 10 o'clock on the morning of the day of the election in said State. During which day, in passing through the city of Cincinnati, I saw several advertisements sticking up in different places, purporting to want hands to go on the Green river locks to work, to the number of one or two hundred hands. This advertisement stated that they wished all the hands that would conclude to go, to be ready on the wharf on Wednesday morning, the 14th of October, ready to go on board the mail boat, for which so much per month will be given—the amount not recollected. On my arriving at the mail boat, General Pike, next morning, I saw an unusual number of persons on board said boat, General Pike; and also a large number on the wharf and wharf boat opposite the said steamboat General Pike. I also saw a man on the wharf, with a sheet of paper in one hand, which appeared to contain a number of names, and a number of bank bills in the other, and seemed to be settling with a number of men on the wharf before the boat left, and the same man, with the aid of another, continued to settle and pay a number of men and boys, or youths, on board of said boat, after she left the wharf. And after we had left the city of Cincinnati, and proceeded down stream some six or eight miles, Mr. E. F.

Calhoun, of Mississippi, and myself, were in conversation on the politics of the day, and during which time a gentleman by the name of George Buell, of Lawrenceburg, came up to us in the cabin of said boat, and asked me if I had noticed what was going on on board of the boat. I answered that I did not know of anything strange. He then asked me if I had not observed a man paying off men on the boat ever since she had left the shore. I answered I had, before she left and since. He asked me if I knew what it meant. I told him I supposed that it was an individual who had been to Cincinnati to engage hands to go on the Green river locks. He immediately informed me that it was a man paying off persons for going to Cincinnati to vote for Pendleton. I said to him, it can't be possible. He replied, come with me, and I will prove it to you, or I will satisfy you, I do not recollect which. He then started, as well as I recollect, towards the crowd, when they were assembled at or near one end of the cabin of said boat. I called or spoke to him to stop, which he did. I then remarked to him [Buell] and Mr. Calhoun, and requested them to be cautious, and we would find them out. About this time the crowd appeared to move forward, and assemble again on the boiler deck, in front of the cabin. We three then proceeded near the crowd. I went up in the crowd, and observed one man sitting on the railing of the boat, and some ten or fifteen around him; the one sitting seemed to be making calculations; and he asked one of the men how much did they owe him, or how much was his bill; he replied, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. The man remarked, that was making the calculation, that he ought not to charge for Sunday, as he could not make anything in Louisville on Sunday. He remarked that he was to have a dollar per day for every day, Sunday included, and board in the city of Cincinnati. Just at that time the man sitting down observed me looking on; and some individual who stood by holding a sheet of paper in his hand, with a large number of names on the same; and the individual who sat on the rail observing me looking on the same, he immediately snatched the paper in the other man's hand, and tore the same in two; and remarked, at the same time, by G—d he did not want every man to see that paper.

The whole crowd then moved their stand to near the wheel-house; and there, as before, appeared to proceed to settle with divers individuals. They seemed to come up from the deck of said boat into the cabin in crowds of from 10 to 15 in number; and after they got through settling, and a portion of them receiving their money, they would disperse and go below, and another crowd come up. They continued in this way, I think, until about one o'clock, p. m. of said day; during which time I did not fully satisfy myself about the matter.

I then went to the clerk of the boat, who was at that time a stranger to me; I asked him how many men were there on board that had been carried to Cincinnati to vote. He laughed, and remarked that he did not know. I asked him who settled for their passage. He pointed out to me a man, rather an elderly looking man; I afterward found out his name to be William Stewart, from himself. I asked the clerk of the boat if he had a list of their names. He said yes; there lay a paper on his desk. I asked if that was the one. He said it was. I then took it in my hand, and then laid it down again, as I thought it would not be prudent to open it, as I had picked it up of my own accord. I then went to several of the men, and asked them a great many questions; where they lived. They all said (that I talked with but two exceptions) that they were citizens of Louisville, Kentucky; the other two lived in Indiana, one in Jeffersonville, the other in Indianapolis. These men on board of the Pike (with but few exceptions) seemed to be a set of cut-throats and ruffians. One of them was pointed out to me by one of the head officers of the boat, who observed that, while he (the officer) was lathering his face, that fellow stole his razor. And another one was pointed out to me by a whig passenger, who observed that he was sold under the vagrant act at St. Louis for six bits. I then called on an individual on board of said boat, (Pike,) who belonged to the steamboat Mail, by the name of Robert Edmason, a nephew of mine, and asked him what he was doing on the Pike, and why he was not on the steamboat Mail. He observed that he had stayed at Cincinnati to vote, and was then going to his home, which is about six miles from Warsaw, in Kentucky. I asked him why he would vote in Ohio, or any where else, when he well knew he was not old enough. He said he knew that. I asked him if he swore to his vote. He said he was too smart for that; he said when he was in Louisville that yonder man (pointing to William Stewart) came to him on the wharf at Louisville and offered him and another man a dollar apiece per day, and pay their expenses to Cincinnati and back, if they would go and vote the whig ticket. And after chatting some time with said Stewart, he (Edmason) said he would see him (Stewart) damned first, before he would vote for money; but that they both belonged to the steamboat Mail, and were going to Cincinnati, and intended to vote the whig ticket. I asked Edmason if he voted the whig ticket, and he said he did. I then asked the said Edmason to give me all the names that he knew that had voted illegal votes; to which he refused, stating as his reason that, if

he did that, they would take his life; and that he was afraid to, and did not wish to be brought into any scrapes about the election; that they were a set of swindlers and cut-throats, and would steal the coat off a man's back.

Some time after dinner, for the first time, I saw the man (Stewart) alone, who had been, through the day, sitting with the men. It was just before we arrived at Aurora, or Rising Sun, I think the former; and some of the persons on board had painted or marked on a board the whig majority in Hamilton county and city of Cincinnati. I stepped up to him and remarked, that we soon would have a fine huzza; and in a few moments, the persons on the shore, at the before mentioned town, saw the result of the vote on the board, and raised a tremendous huzzza. He remarked to me, at the same time, and said, is it not a great victory to beat such a scoundrel and villain as Duncan? I observed, that I thought that the party had gone to greater lengths to beat Duncan than any one of the party. He said yes; for he was the greatest scoundrel in the world, as well as I recollect.

I at that moment laid my hand on his shoulder and observed, old fellow, if it had not have been for you, that we never would of beat them in the world. To which he replied, beat indeed! No indeed, said he, if it had not of been for the votes that I carried to Cincinnati, that Duncan would of beaten them to death. I asked him, how in the devil did you manage so as not to be found out? What ward did they vote in? He remarked, that he divided them out, and carried seven or eight at a time, and voted in different wards, and his friends helped him, and a portion of them voted in the third ward. I asked him if he carried as many as eighty or a hundred; and he remarked, that he carried more than either; and remarked more than once that he carried more than Pendleton's majority. And, I suppose, there was eighty or a hundred on board that day, and, probably, over that number.

Stewart also informed that he was the man that beat Merrywether, in Jefferson county, Kentucky, who ran, at the August election, for a seat in the legislature of Kentucky. I asked him how he managed. He told me that he took the men from the city of Louisville, and carried them to Six Mile island, and there kept them several days, and eat, drank, and slept with them, until Monday of the election, and then carried them over into Jefferson county, and there got them to vote, and in that way he beat Merrywether. He also stated that the whigs did not treat him well at Cincinnati; for they did not give him but seventy-five dollars to pay the men with. I asked him who gave him that. He said that the Tippecanoe club gave it to him, of Cincinnati. And he remarked, that he had paid out ten dollars of his own money, and that he could not pay them off until he got to Louisville. I asked him if they were a making any noise about their pay, and he said no; that he had just been below and treated them to a dollar's worth of drink. He also stated that he never eat until they eat. He also stated that they eat in the cabin, and part of them slept in the cabin and part on deck. He told me that he knew how many men it would take, and they were determined to have them. I noticed, at dinner, when the men came to the table, that it was easy to distinguish them from the rest of the passengers, or that is, the most of them.

Mr. Shephard of this place, the editor of the Warsaw Patriot, a decided whig paper, and as much so as any in the State, was on board, and I called on him to notice the men, and called his attention to a great many of the circumstances herein detailed. And I do further state, that I went to the house where Shephard stopped, with an officer, on this day, for the purpose of bringing said Shephard before the justice for the purpose of taking his deposition, but he could not be found.

The said Stewart informed me that he would have no difficulty in getting the money on his arrival at Louisville. I asked him if they did pay him well for his trouble. He said he did not charge anything, only his money back; that what he done he done free o' charge. I asked him how many went up on the steam boat Mail; I think he told me between eighty and one hundred. I asked him who had charge of those on the Mail, and he informed me that Russell had; and I think he said Captain Russell. I asked him if they swore the men that he carried up to vote, and he told me nearly all of them. He told me that he told them, when they came on board the boat at Louisville, what they should have if they voted, and if they did not vote, they well knew what they would get. And further this, dependent saith not.

JEFFERSON PEAK.

Sworn to and subscribed before us, this 3d day of December, 1840.

B. TILLER, J. P. G. C.
JAS. F. BLANTON, J. P. G. C.

Commonwealth of Kentucky, Gallatin county, set:

The foregoing deposition of Jefferson Peak was this day taken, subscribed, and sworn to by the said Jefferson Peak, before the undersigned, two of the Commonwealth justices of the peace within and for the county of Gallatin, State of Kentucky, at the time and place, and for the purpose stated in the caption thereof, and the notice herewith annexed. The said Jefferson Peak being duly sworn, and the question propounded, did, in our

presence, write with his own hand, the said foregoing deposition.

Given under our hands and seals this 3d day of December, A. D., 1840.

B. TILLER, J. P. G. C. [SEAL.]
JAS. F. BLANTON, J. P. G. C. [SEAL.]

But as I have said those frauds were not confined to Hamilton county, they were wide spread, and never can be but partially exposed. I hold in my hand an exposé of the frauds practised in Philadelphia, as corrupt and as alarming as those which I have partially exposed, as practised in Hamilton county. I also hold in my hand the Glentworth frauds as practised in New York, which can only be equalled in infamy by those which I have named. The limits of a speech will not permit any thing more than a mere synopsis of those frauds. I will ask the clerk to read some extracts exposing the more glaring abuses practised in Philadelphia. I will also ask the clerk to read some short extracts of the Glentworth frauds in New York. The clerk read them.*

Mr. Speaker, I have nothing to say of the political crime, and moral depravity involved in holding a seat on this floor, obtained by such means as those disclosed by these reports, only so far as I and my constituents are concerned. The individuals who it is said were returned to this House by this system of fraud, were Charles Naylor of Philadelphia; Edward Curtis, Moses Grinnell, Ogden Hoffman, and James Monroe of New York; and N. G. Pendleton of Ohio. How many more have been returned I know not, nor is it my present purpose to inquire, (except as to the member from Ohio.) Of them I leave others to speak, with the single remark, that present honor gained by such frauds and treason will be future infamy and contempt. But I repeat, that I have something to say of these frauds as connected with those I have the honor to represent. The people of the first congressional district of Ohio had no representative in the 27th Congress of their choice. N. G. Pendleton, esq. of Cincinnati, bore the governor's certificate, with the broad seal of Ohio; and by virtue of that certificate and broad seal he appeared and took his seat here: but he was no representative of the people of the district which the broad seal represented him to be. He was the representative of a minority of the people of the first congressional district of Ohio, and ruffians, thieves, and cut-throats of Kentucky, and of other States and counties without the district of his residence; and if Mr. Pendleton held a seat here, knowing those facts, he held it in the guilt of treason and in the crime of perjury. He may not have known them, though every body else in the world beside knew them. Mr. Pendleton, in all the frauds, perjuries, briberies, and treasons which characterized the elections of 1840, all over the Union, but more especially in the Ohio first congressional district, may have been a political automaton; or mere man-machine, and, like Balaam's ass, moved merely as he was kicked into passive action and obedience. If so, he must be discharged from any imputation of immorality or crime, and the charge placed to his stupidity. I undertake to say there was not one dollar short of fifty thousand expended in and out of Hamilton county, to secure the election of the whig candidate of that district; and no man who has a character for truth and veracity, and who wishes to maintain that character, and who is acquainted with the circumstan-

*The Philadelphia and New York frauds are not inserted for want of room.

ces, will undertake to deny that assertion. That vast sum was expended in consummation of the frauds which you have seen and heard disclosed. Mr. Pendleton may not have advanced one dollar, nor one mill, of all that sum. Though one of the richest men in the city of Cincinnati, or the State of Ohio, himself, and more immediately interested than all others, he may not have advanced one dollar to secure his own election, which was secured by a system of swindling which no agency but money would have secured, and no sum less than that which I have named would have been sufficient; yet, I repeat, he may not have advanced one dollar for such an infamous purpose, to secure such an infamous end. The liberality of his federal party friends, in their zeal to overthrow the democratic party, and to defeat the democratic candidate, may have done all without his knowledge, and without his pecuniary assistance. That position is hard to believe. Mr. Pendleton was in the centre of all the cavalcades, coon conventions, and drunken orgies which disgraced Hamilton county, demoralized society, and debased the character of civilized man; and it is difficult to believe (and almost irreconcilably so) that he could have known nothing of the frauds and the means by which his election was to be secured.

Mr. Pendleton is in a dilemma; he may hang to which horn he pleases, or on whichever his friends please to hang him. He must either stand charged with *jackassical* stupidity, which, if true, rendered him unfit for a seat in this hall, as the representative of any party, or anybody, even the cut-throats, thieves, and ruffians of Kentucky; or, on the other hand, if he knew of, and participated in, the frauds by which he was elected, or gave countenance to them, or aided them by pecuniary means, he was unfit to hold a place here or elsewhere, except on the gibbet, due to the traitor, or in a cell within the gloomy walls of a penitentiary, due to perjury. I invent nothing; I have presented the evidence as it came to me—as I received it from the highest tribunal in our State. I draw no other conclusions than every person, bound and governed by correct principles of morality and patriotism, must draw. For myself, I declare, in presence of my Maker and this assembly, to whom I am responsible here, and to whom I must answer hereafter for every idle and profane word spoken, that I know of no crime or crimes in my State which would consign me, handcuffed and shackled, to the penitentiary and to eternal infamy, in the commission of which I would feel more degraded in the estimation of man, more wounded in my own conscience, and more offensive before God, than those by which I believe Mr. Pendleton held a seat in this hall. I mean the crimes of bribery and treason by which his certificate was purchased, and the perjury which was committed in the oath which he took at the threshold of his representative duties, to support the constitution, which constitution he violated by taking his seat here, and which he continued to violate every minute—every moment—while he occupied it. Still, of all this, I repeat, Mr. Pendleton may have been innocent. It is not for me to judge, nor do I feel at liberty to judge. Human judgment, I suppose, is a voluntary act, and the power under our control; or why should the Supreme Judge of the universe have ordered us to "*judge not lest ye be judged.*" Knowledge is founded on the evidence of things seen, and therefore is not to be controlled by either the mind or the will. Faith and belief are conclu-

sions we draw from the evidence of things not seen, and are irresistible. Faith and belief are not controlled by the will, hence the maxim, "*we are bound to believe.*" So it is with those who witnessed the election frauds of 1840, in Hamilton county, to secure the *certificate* of election to Mr. Pendleton. They are bound, irresistibly, to believe that he had some hand in them, and consequently guilty to the same extent of the moral and political crimes which I have attached to him, or any one holding a seat here under such circumstances.

Let no one charge me with taking advantage of parliamentary privilege, or of the high mountains, broad valleys, and wide rivers which seven hundred miles distance interposes between me and Mr. Pendleton and his friends. I have taken no such advantage. I hold myself responsible in my individual capacity for all I say here or elsewhere, whether in a private or representative capacity; and moreover, I repeatedly, and to assembled hundreds, and assembled thousands, in every part of Hamilton county, and within hearing of Mr. Pendleton's door, (if not in his presence, it was because he would not come to hear me,) made all the charges, and in as strong terms, and with similar language as I am now doing, both against Mr. Pendleton and his active partisans; and I shall continue to do so at home and elsewhere, so long as the crimes, frauds, bribes, treasuries, and corruptions of 1840 shall stick to his and their skirts, and cover their entire carcasses. I fear no accountability; I speak nothing but the truth; I have the ability to maintain it. My constituents expect me to speak the truth, and the whole truth, and they know I will speak it so as to be understood. No speech or saying of mine shall ever lose force, if it have any, from want of strong language; I like to call things by their proper names.

Mr. Speaker, I was as much the legal and constitutional representative of the people of the first congressional district in the 27th Congress as I am of this. I was elected in 1840 by a majority of more than five hundred of the legal voters of that district, and yet the returns showed a majority against me of one hundred and sixty votes, such were the numbers of imported voters—such the number of pipelayers, such the frauds. This statement may be called bold; if so, there is not an intelligent and true democrat in Hamilton county, but what will make or endorse it. I make it as well from a conscientious belief, as a knowledge of its truth. This knowledge and belief, with me, is founded on facts that came under my own knowledge and observation—on the facts which this journal discloses, a small part of which has been read to you—on the fact that, prior to the day of election, several of the wards in the city of Cincinnati were polled; every whig and democratic voter having a right to vote was counted by a committee for that purpose; and in every ward which was polled, the ballot-box showed the democratic vote to be almost precisely what the poll had shown it; but in every ward the ballot-box showed an increase of whig votes, over that polled, from fifty to two hundred and fifty. In 1840, there were but few changes in Hamilton county: some who acted with the democratic party turned to the whig side; some who had acted with the whigs turned to the democratic side. I believe the majority of changes were in favor of the democracy. But little was gained to either party by changes. But I ask your attention to another fact in support of this assertion, and that is this—that in the last congressional con-

test, the democratic majority was one thousand and fourteen; and yet, owing to the absence of the excitement necessary to bring out the democratic voters, the aggregate democratic vote was near one thousand less than it was in 1840, though in that year the democracy were defeated one hundred and sixty votes; all of which shows, most conclusively, that the whig ticket in 1840 was carried by the importation of foreign voters, to the number of more than seven hundred, in violation of the constitution, the election laws, the people's rights, and the elective franchise. And if there were no other frauds disclosed in that shameful, reckless, and villanous campaign of 1840, those alone are sufficient to impose upon us the duty of passing this bill into a law; but I repeat, that I have no time to expose the wide-spread corruptions of that election, alike in their tendencies fatal to the morals of society, as destructive to the free institutions of our country.

I have been asked a thousand times, by letter and otherwise, by those who were made acquainted with the frauds practised in Hamilton county, why I did not appear here, and contest Mr. Pendleton's seat. There were two reasons, either of which was sufficient in itself. First, I was too proud to do it. Second, my constituents were too proud to permit me to do it. I was too proud to ask redress at the hands of a whig House, whose hatred for me I knew only to be commensurate with my hatred for them. I speak politically. I was too proud to ask an investigation at the hands of a whig House, who I knew possessed neither the magnanimity, generosity, or justice to do that which the most indisputable evidence should have demanded. I was too proud to appear before a jury for the redress of a wrong and a violence, many of whom I knew were the very inventors and workers of that very organized system of swindling by which that wrong and that violence were effected. I was too proud to ask any favor, or even justice, at the hands of my enemies; and I was too proud to apply to a House for the redress of a violence, knowing, as I did, that more than one-half of its members held their seats by virtue of the same system of frauds by which I was deprived of mine. My constituents were too proud to permit me to ask for the redress of a violence which they had the power themselves to redress, and which violence they have redressed—though that redress would have been much more triumphant, could they have provoked Mr. Pendleton to have been the opposing candidate; but into that he was neither to be kicked nor coaxed, because (as the rude democrats said) his vanity and ambition had cost him too much already. The democrats say (and I have never heard a whig deny it) that he paid \$20,000 for three letters of the alphabet, to the end that he might have a title prefixed to his name. Well, I know no reason why a man may not purchase a title in this country as well as in any other; and he may place that title at the head or tail of his name, as his own fancy or his taste may dictate. But \$20,000 is a big price to pay for two consonants and one vowel, which, in their order, are to be placed H-O-N, to give them their most potent meaning; and that meaning may convey honor or disgrace. Nor does the price augment the honor, or diminish the disgrace. If he who possesses them procured them in an honorable way, or if they have been awarded as the price of intelligence, patriotism, and virtue, they are but the evidence of merit due to him who wears them; but if they have been purchased at the expense of virtue

and patriotism, and in the commission of treason, bribery, and perjury, they should be, and will be, worn as a mark of disgrace and infamy. I leave Mr. Pendleton and his Kentucky cut-throat ruffian and thieving constituents to decide the question.

Mr. Speaker, it is a divine truth, and is regarded as a maxim far and wide as civilized society, that "*evil should not be done that good may come of it.*" When the moral part of the community in 1840 remonstrated against the means which were resorted to by the federal party to overthrow the democracy, the universal answer was, that "*the end justifies the mean.*" Now, sir, I wish to say something about the means that were used, and the end effected by the means; and I think I will be able to show that the end was worthy of the means, and the means worthy of the end, and that they were both worthy of each other.

This government has been in existence something more than half a century under its present organization. There are members in this House who are seniors of this government. For forty years of its whole existence it has been under democratic administration; and although it has, for the balance of the time, and at two different times, been frostbitten and withered by federal administration, yet its progress has been onward—onward. From the time of its commencement, up to 1840 inclusive, it presented a progress in civilization which can challenge the history of nations, literature, philosophy, agriculture, mechanics, and general science, and every improvement that characterizes civilized man, had advanced with a rapidity of which the history of the world shows no example. The progress of commerce, science, literature, and refinement, of the republics of Carthage, of Greece, and of Rome, has employed a thousand pens, and has been sung by ten thousand tongues, in description and praise. The same progress and advancement of the European governments have exhausted eulogy, and almost confounded wonder; and yet the advancement of the republic of the United States, in every characteristic of civilization, human happiness, and national greatness, has been more in half a century than theirs has been in five hundred years. The savage wilderness has been tamed, and the wild man has fled. The widespread and dense wildernesses that once made the earth groan with their native growth, have been converted into highly cultivated farms, and now groan with the rich productions of the hand of industry. The broad rivers which (many of them) were agitated but by the winds and the bark canoe of the savage, now bear on their bosoms thousands of steamboats, laden with the rich productions of happy freemen, and command the tempest and defy the waves. The canvass of our commercial ships whitens every ocean, every sea, and every bay. The American flag is displayed in every civilized port in the world. The face of our continent is checkered with turnpikes, railroads, and canals; our hills are made to yield their valuable timbers, and our mountains to give up their rich minerals. Cities, great towns, beautiful and pleasant villages, dot the face of the continent. Houses of worship, colleges of science, seminaries of learning, and school-houses of common education, temples of justice, as well as theatres of innocent amusement, adorn almost every city, town, and village, on our continent. Peace, plenty, and happiness, overspread the land, and cheerfulness beams from every countenance. Industry is respected, industry rewarded, and industry protected. In this prosperous and glorious career,

there was but one obstruction—and that was an irresponsible corporate banking system which had grown up, and which more of by-and-by, or some other occasion; at present, I will pass it.

I repeat that all this unexampled prosperity, this rapid advancement, this magical elevation of national greatness, was under the influence and auspices of democratic administration four-fifths of the existence of this government. But a strange dream came over the people. They seem to have become satiated with prosperity, and to have grown weary with happiness and good government, and they must needs have a "change." Sir, I desire to dwell some little on that word "change." The word *change* has always a potent political world. It has even been the rallying word of the demagogue. It is the yelp of the disappointed office-seeker. It has ever been so from the commencement of civilized government. It was the cry of change that overthrew the first republican government that history describes—I mean the government of the Israelites. That was a republican government, from the time of the conquest of Canaan; and although laws were proposed to the people through Moses, yet no law was obligatory until it was received and adopted by the voice or suffrage of the people. The Almighty was their king, but not without their choice. He was repeatedly elected as such by the suffrage of the people. Moses, although generally regarded as the Israelitish legislator, in his time was nothing more than a mediator, or medium through which the will, the wishes, and approbation of the Almighty were communicated.

The Jewish government was established on those principles which alone can make a people happy and independent. The Jews were an agricultural people, and every man a freeholder; and such were the restrictions on the alienation of landed property, that every Jew came into the world the owner of land, and went out of the world the owner of land. It was a prominent principle of the Jewish government to encourage agriculture, and to foster it above all other business or occupation; and, so long as that policy remained, so long it was retained in its primitive simplicity—there was no people on earth more happy than were the Jews. But, in the course of time, demagogues and ambitious politicians grew up among them. They must needs have a *change*. Though above all the people on earth, they were not only blessed with the best government and the richest land, but were daily furnished by the hand of the Almighty; they were daily receiving the bounties of his goodness; they had been delivered from Egyptian bondage by a miraculous interposition of Divine Providence; and, when hotly pursued by Pharaoh and his host, they had seen Moses, by divine power, smite the Arabian gulf with a rod, divide the waters, and roll back the mighty waves, through which they passed dry-shod, while Pharaoh and his host were drowned; when on their way in the parched wilderness, they drank pure water, which they had seen Moses draw from the flinty rock by a smite of his rod; when they hungered in the wilderness, manna fell from heaven, of which they ate in gratitude and solemn thanks;—all these things were fresh in their recollection when they first attempted a *change*; and that *change* was to desert the standard of Moses, and the Almighty's protection, and betake themselves to Aaron, and erect a golden calf, and bestow on it the divine honors which were due to Him who had delivered them from bondage, and fed them in the wilderness; that was the first *change*. The motives of the Jews in that change were of a character with those which moved a majority of the American people in 1840, when they deserted the democratic standard and betook themselves to whigery. They were wont to erect a calf, too—not a calf to be made of gold, but one to be made of shinpasters; a kind of rag-tag and bobtail calf—a calf to be made with rags and lamp-black, worthy of a rag-baron aristocracy. But John Tyler knocked that calf on the head, thank God, as Moses did Aaron's; for when he (Moses) returned from the mount, he demolished Aaron's calf, and reconciled the Almighty with the Jews, whose wrath had been kindled against them for their idolatry.

But ere long corrupt politicians again sprang up, and denounced the government as weak and imbecile. Demagogues and loafers multiplied, who, (in that country as in this, and every other,) too lazy to work and too proud to beg, determined to live on the labor of others. Not content with that wise and equitable system of government which distributed justice and equality to all, and made every Jew a constituent part of the government—made every Jew a landholder and a freeman;—not content with that policy which made the Jews an agricultural people, (for which they were peculiarly fitted, and to which their country was peculiarly adapted,) they sought to establish systems of inequality; to divert the public attention from the humble, punctual, and frugal—though honorable—pursuits of agriculture; and to adopt a system more in accordance with oriental grandeur: to this end, privileged orders and irresponsible institutions must be established—something like the policy sought to be established in our country, which has for its object the oppression of the many to enhance the interests of the few,—I mean a protective-tariff system—a credit sys-

tem—a banking system, and a shinpaster currency,—or, in brief, a system by which swindlers may plunder honest men. No other systems would divert and deceive the people from the policy and stern frugality which it was the constant effort of Moses to inculcate, and which the whole frame of government favored. But the corrupt politicians and demagogues rung *change! change!* and a portion of the people, who had gradually become corrupted with oriental passions and oriental grandeur, permitted their patriotism to be shaken. They began to think there was something sublime in an eastern court, which gave character, dignity, show, and power, to a nation, which was incompatible with a simple republican government. The rage for *change* spread. They must have a court. The show, the gaudy tinsel, the splendor and the luxuries of a court, captivated their minds, blinded their understanding, and vitiated their tastes. The dis-tempered rage for a *change* spread more and wider. To have a court, they must have a king—not their frugal Moses, or their divine Deliverer any longer; but a temporal king, who could bestow bounties, and receive flatteries—a court, a king, military splendor, a central power, and a strong government. Moses, and a man called Samuel, who was a successor of Moses, remonstrated against a change of government, and represented, in the strongest possible terms, the dangers and fatal effects of eastern corruptions, eastern despotism, and eastern bondage. All their remonstrance was in vain; a *change* they would have; a temporal king they would have; an oriental court and a military depositum they would have; and the Almighty gave them, in his anger, a king, and all the rest soon followed. Saul was the first king under their new *change*. He governed well for a short time, but soon became despotic, and towards the last of his reign became insupportably capricious. He was rejected, and one David was chosen in his place. David was a true patriot, a sincere friend of his country, and ardently devoted to its highest interests. The country prospered under his administration, though oriental customs, and the military spirit of the people, grew under his reign, and, with these, increased taxation. Solomon succeeded David. He ruled with moderation and wisdom at first, but, towards the end of his reign, became very tyrannical, and laid heavy burdens upon his people. Oppression had already become the reward of their desired *change*. Rehoboam succeeded Solomon. He refused to lighten the burdens of the people; and this caused a dismemberment of the empire—ten tribes going off, under Jeroboam, and forming a separate government. From this time the nation became rapidly more and more corrupt; the kings more and more despotic; the people more and more enslaved; and the result of all was the decay and ruin of the government. Let us sum up the evils of the *change*:

1. An increase of taxation, with the increase of the military spirit; and numerous and exhausting wars, as a consequence.
2. Tyranny and despotism in the government—many of the kings becoming as tyrannical as the eastern despots.
3. A neglect of agriculture.
4. Entire change in the admirable agrarian laws of Moses.
5. Ultimate ruin, and subjection of the nation to a foreign yoke.

And this, sir, was the career of the Israelites; and this the ruin brought upon them by that fatal word *change*, invented, introduced, and rung by demagogues and corrupt politicians, who have been the overthrow and downfall of every republic.

I have no time to trace up the histories of republics, or free governments, and expose the fatal effects of that word *change*. If I had, I could refer you to the word *change*, which was never out of the mouth of Hanno, by which he embarrassed the correct action of the senate of Carthage, and poisoned the minds of the people; and by which he embarrassed the movements of Hannibal, at the very time he was shaking the walls of Rome; and by which he succeeded in effecting the recall of Hannibal, and, with his recall, the destruction of the last hope of ever conquering Rome; and by which, too, he and his kindred spirits succeeded in overthrowing the republic of Carthage, and making her the prey to Roman conquest.

I could, also, refer to the demagogues and corrupt and bribed politicians of Greece, who, with their pockets full of Persian gold, and their mouths filled with *change*, laid the foundation for the overthrow of her republics. It was the same fatal word, in the brawling mouths of corrupt politicians, that subverted the Roman republic; and the same word, after the overthrow of the republic, placed one vile despot after another on the throne, each vile despot viler and more despotic than his predecessor, until the people of Rome, from being the freest people on earth, became the greatest slaves on earth; and, until, too, it was finally overthrown. The overthrow of all those republics was brought about by the word *change* in the mouths of corrupt politicians, hired demagogues, and pensioned liars, precisely such as overspread our country in 1840, and by whose means the democracy were overthrown. Yes, sir, overthrown by pensioned liars, hired demagogues, corrupt and bribed politicians, whose incessant cry was *change! change! change!* The word *change* was never permitted to die on the ear. Well, the change was ef-

fect. The democratic party was overthrown. A democratic candidate for the presidency was defeated in his re-election—one who had administered the government on as pure principles as it ever had been administered or ever will be administered—one who had sustained our free institutions, the constitution, and the nation's honor, with an ability and a wisdom which never has been surpassed since the formation of our government—a man who was and is alike distinguished for the purity of his morals as for his talents as a statesman; distinguished alike for his firmness as for his attachment to democratic principles and the support of democratic institutions; alike distinguished for the qualities of his head as for the goodness of his heart; with a moral reputation which even the sycophantic hreath of slander dare not approach. Such was the man whose election was defeated by that potent word *change*, and its accompanying means. Yes, sir, the accompanying means; I must have something to say about the accompanying means, in connection with the word *change*. And what were they? Ah! sir, could they be blotted from the recollection of man, and could the history that records them be annihilated, what friend to his country—what man or patriot, jealous of the honor and the reputation of his country and the American character, would wish to revive their recollection? But to the disgrace of this people, and to the dishonor of our republican institutions, here and elsewhere, they live in memory—they live in history, and will live after all who now live will have returned to dust. They will live when time shall have crumbled the marble columns that support the dome of this hall; even then, the drunken orgies which disgraced the elections of 1840 will be classed with the drunken orgies which disgraced all Greece in the worship of Bacchus; fresh, then, will the disgraceful scenes of 1840 be in history, as the bacchanalian feasts are now. So we cannot hide them; knowing them as we do, and known as they are, we may better serve our country by exposing them.

I desire to tax your time a few moments while I make a few comments on truth—for I regard it as the highest virtue of any people, whether in a national, or in an individual point of view. In the language of another, truth is a light from on high. It is almost the only thing on earth which is worth the research and care of man. It is the light of our mind; it should be the rule and the guide of our heart, as it is the foundation of our hopes, and the comfort of our fears. It is the alleviating balm of our evils, and the true remedy of all our troubles and misfortunes. It is the source of good, and the horror of bad conscience; it is the secret punisher of vice, and the everlasting reward of virtue. It immortalizes those who practise it; it dignifies the chains, and makes supportable the dark and gloomy dungeon of those who suffer for it; and it brings and perpetuates public praise and public honors upon the memories of those who have been its defenders and its martyrs. It makes respectable the humility and the poverty of those who have sacrificed all in its pursuit and its support. It inspires magnanimity of thought, and forms heroic souls, of which this world is unworthy. It has made every sage and every hero that the world has ever produced, worthy of the name. How unfortunate that it was it was not better known and more highly appreciated by the whigs at all times, but more especially in the political campaign of 1840! But, to form a true estimate of its exalted merits, we must contrast it with its antagonist principle—falsehood; which, of all vices, is the most degrading and degraded. It sinks those who practise it, in the estimation of God and the virtuous world, below the brute; and confirms the end, the ruin, and the disgrace, it is sought to avoid. All these principles and effects, whether of truth or falsehood, may be applied in an individual and private sense; but how much more estimable is truth when applied in a national sense? and how much more disgusting and horrible is falsehood when viewed in a national sense, or used to deceive a nation? A falsehood is a misrepresentation of a fact, or things, for the purpose of deception. A falsehood works two evils—a crime on the part of him who attempts to deceive, and an injury on the part of him who is deceived. If an individual makes a misrepresentation, not knowing it to be such, he is guilty of no falsehood in the moral sense, and is guilty of no wrong except the injury to him who is deceived. So, too, if an individual relate a falsehood, and it fails to deceive the individual intended to be deceived, either from the improbability of the thing intended to be misrepresented, or from the known character of the misrepresenter as a liar,—in that case, the misrepresentation fails of its object, and no injury is done; but the moral turpitude of the falsehood is undiminished. The failure to accomplish a crime, does not diminish the crime involved in the intention and effort to commit it. So, too, is a falsehood criminal in proportion to the injury which its misrepresentation may effect. If it deceives a nation, it is criminal in its effects and design, in proportion to the magnitude of the nation and the extent of the evil. Now, sir, I charge falsehood as one of the means used by the federal party in 1840 to overthrow the democracy, and to defeat the election of Mr. Van Buren, and every democratic candidate that was defeated. But when falsehood is substituted for truth to effect an object, every other means—however criminal, however mean, however detestable, and however degrading—are

sure to be called in as auxiliaries. So it was in the election of 1840—to falsehood as a means, slander, detraction, perjury, bribery, and treason, were called in; and the whole, united, constituted a part of the means by which the federalists were too successful. But, in addition to falsehood, and all its vile and unworthy associates, there were other means used, equally degrading to the American character, and the American nation; all of which I shall treat in their order. And first of the falsehoods—wholesale falsehoods I deal in—wholesale and general whig falsehoods I begin with No. 1. It was said the administration of Mr. Van Buren was an extravagant, a wasteful, and a corrupt administration. To put a direct contradiction upon this triple falsehood, I will submit statistics; and in order that I may be read with greater ease, I will make them as brief as possible; and in order to illustrate, I will compare figures with the expenditures of this administration that promised such reform.

The appropriations which supplied the first year of Mr. Van Buren's administration, were made under the last year of Gen. Jackson's administration; and of them I will say nothing. The amount expended in the first year of Mr. Van Buren's administration, which was the year 1837, was	\$31,610,003
Second year, 1838,	31,544,396
Third year, 1839,	25,443,716
Fourth year, 1840,	22,389,356
Total	110,997,471

the aggregate amount of the expenditures of Mr. Van Buren's administration. I say aggregate amount; I mean by that the ordinary and extraordinary expenditures; I mean by the ordinary expenditures, the civil and diplomatic expenditures, as well as the ordinary expenditures for the army and navy; Indian annuities, and interest on the funded or District debt—all of which are ordinary, because they are of yearly occurrence, whether we are in peace or in war. They are incidental to the army, to the navy, and to our funded debts. I mean by the extraordinary expenditures, those which occurred in consequence of the border difficulties; the public buildings, the Creek Indian war, the Florida war, the removal of Indians across the Mississippi, and their settlement in agriculture, &c.—all of which were extraordinary expenditures, nearly all of which had their beginning, and nearly all of which had their end, in Mr. Van Buren's administration. I will exhibit the amount of those extraordinary expenditures, as well their several as their aggregate amount. I will separate them from the ordinary expenditures, and show the difference. I will then compare the ordinary expenditures under Mr. Van Buren's administration, with the ordinary expenditures of this whig-reform-economical administration, and exhibit the difference, and make it so plain that every democratic boy of Israel shall be able to overthrow any whig of Gath, or of the Philistine tribe, though he be as big as Goliath.

The amount expended for the Florida war within the term of Mr. Van Buren's administration, together with the Creek war, was, as reports show	\$38,000,000
The amount expended on behalf of all our border difficulties	500,000
Amount for removal of Indians across the Mississippi, and their settlement	3,261,315
Amount expended on the public buildings, viz:	
Amount on the treasury building	400,000
Do do post office do	400,000
Do do patent office do	400,000
The aggregate of which is	42,961,315
Deduct this aggregate from the expenditures for the entire administration of Mr. Van Buren	110,997,471
And we have the sum of	\$68,036,156

This we find to be the entire amount expended in Mr. Van Buren's administration for its full term, for the ordinary support of the army, navy, and the government, civil and diplomatic.

I now exhibit the expenditures of the first two years of this Philistine whig administration,—whig in the Senate—whig in the House—whig all over, with the entire control of the government in their hands, so far as the appropriating power was concerned; and I have no expenditures to exhibit but those which I have called ordinary in Mr. Van Buren's administration; for there has been no Florida war, no Indians to remove, no border difficulties except what were settled by negotiation, nor any public buildings, except some small finishing expenditures; and what do you think they are, sir? I hold in my hand House document No. 62, prepared by a whig officer of this House; of course it is good authority against whig profligacy. Here is the document. It is a pamphlet; it is all covered with figures, and every figure counts tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions, and

tens of millions, such as no man can number or detail in a speech. I must describe by aggregates. I must lump the millions. Here they are. I expose them to the honest people, the hard handed tax payers, who were promised reform, retrenchment, and relief from tax burdens, if they would unite with the federalists to overthrow the democracy.

While in power, the whigs held three sessions in one Congress. Here are the appropriations made each session:

For diplomatic and miscellaneous—		
First session	\$1,065,091	
Second session	4,625,443	
Third session	6,363,545	
		\$12,646,079
For naval service—		
First session	1,703,976	
Second session	6,684,769	
Third session	9,144,733	
		17,522,478
For military service, including all which belongs to the military department—		
First session	2,274,637	
Second session	8,737,864	
Third session	9,093,907	
		20,111,408
Further appropriations for the naval department, second and third sessions, show		9,030,900
		\$58,719,867

Thus, it seems that the ordinary expenses of the whig reform and retrenchment administration for two years, (not four,) shows the sum of fifty-eight millions seven hundred and nineteen thousand eight hundred and sixty seven dollars.

Now for the comparison. I have deducted the extraordinary expenditures under Mr. Van Buren's administration from the ordinary, and find that they were—

For the first year	\$14,603,490
For the second year	14,537,879
For the third year	8,437,203
For the fourth year	5,382,843

Making in all 42,961,315

Which is the amount of the extraordinary expenditures. If we deduct this sum from the whole amount, (ordinary and extraordinary expenditures,) the balance will show the amount of ordinary expenditures through the whole four years of Mr. Van Buren's administration:

Aggregate amount of ordinary and extraordinary expenditures	\$110,997,471
From which deduct—	
Extraordinary expenditures	42,961,315
	68,036,155

This estimate shows that, through the four years of Mr. Van Buren's administration, the ordinary expenditures of the government were sixty-eight million thirty-six thousand one hundred and fifty-six dollars; while a federal coon administration, in two years of its time, under a solemn pledge of reform and retrenchment, has expended fifty-eight millions seven hundred and nineteen thousand and nine hundred dollars. Let us see the difference. Here it is:

Amount of all ordinary expenditures under Mr. Van Buren's administration (four years)	68,036,155
From which deduct—	
Amount of all ordinary expenditures under the coon administration (two years)	\$58,719,967
	\$10,316,189

Thus it appears from statistics, official and true as moral reason, that the ordinary expenditures of the two first years of this reform and retrenchment administration have been but \$10,316,189 less than the entire four years of Mr. Van Buren's administration. But, I may be told that there were some extraordinary expenditures necessary under this administration; what were they? The Florida war was closed when it came into power; at least, so near so, that there were not four hundred Seminole warriors in Florida, and they were fast coming in and surrendering. The boundary difficulty was so far concluded, that nothing was left but negotiation, and that was conducted to our disadvantage, our dishonor, and the surrender of a vast territory. The Creek war was ended, the Creek and Cherokee Indians were removed, and the public buildings were nearly completed. But, if it is contended that there were extraordinary expenditures, I will offset them with some extraordinary expenditures in Mr. Van Buren's administration, which I have not classed as such. I mean the expenditures growing out of the extra session, in the summer of 1837, which was brought upon the people by the impolitic connexion of the government with the swindling banking institutions.

And this, sir, is the end, so far as retrenchment and reform is concerned, which was to justify the corrupt means which were used to defeat the election of Mr. Van Buren, and overthrow the democratic party. The means, as I have stated—falsehood, and its infamous auxiliaries, corruption, bribery, treason, and perjury—were to be justified by the end; and the end is an increase of the expenditure nearly double, and consequently a double imposition of taxes, and double burdens on the people. So much for the corrupt means; so much for the unfortunate end, both worthy of each other, worthy of the party who used them, and worthy of the party who have brought them about. I say, then, that the promises which were made of reform and retrenchment were falsehoods; they were made for the purposes of deception, and have deceived; they involve the crime of falsehood, and the injury of deception. But the sweeping, unlimited, and reckless falsehoods of 1810 were not confined to false promises; they were fraught with slander, detraction, and libels both of men and measures. To enumerate the falsehoods and slanders would require volumes; to enumerate the slandered would be to embrace every prominent democrat in the country, and every measure of the then administration. It is not my purpose to enter into particulars, or to deal in personalities; but there is one case, and one person, that I must be permitted to speak of while on this branch of the subject. The case to which I allude was the speech of Mr. BUCHANAN of the Senate; and that person is honest John Davis of Massachusetts. Honest John! God save the mark!

Mr. BUCHANAN, when supporting the independent treasury bill, said: "The chief object was to disconnect the government from all banks; to secure the people's money from the wreck of the banking system, and to have it always ready to promote the prosperity of the country in peace, and to defend it in war. Incidentally, however, it will do some good in checking the extravagant spirit of speculation, which is the bane of society." Mr. B., throughout his speech, from which the above extract is taken, denied that the independent treasury system would or could have the effect to produce the disasters upon the community which its enemies attributed to it. The effects attributed were, that it would destroy the banks, break down the credit system, establish an exclusive metallic currency, reduce the value of property and the price of labor. He denied that the bill possessed the power to produce such effects; and (as all his speeches show) was opposed to an exclusive metallic currency in the then condition of the country, owing to the manner in which the commercial, mercantile, and general interests of the country were interwoven with banks, paper currency, and the credit system. No man trod more cautiously, or advanced with more precision, and, at the same time, with more firmness, in the reformations that were then in progress in relation to the currency, and to the control, management, and disbursement of the national revenue, than did Mr. B. The safety of the revenue, and its proper and secure management, without materially affecting the channels of trade and the general interests of the country, seemed to be his highest object—for the truth of which I can safely refer to all his speeches in support of the independent treasury plan, and all financial measures appertaining thereto. I speak knowingly; I speak from hearing his speeches when made, and reading them when printed; and yet, in the face of all who heard him, and all who read his speeches, John Davis puts this argument in his mouth, viz: "It (the independent treasury) contains the necessary corrective [for the evils] imputable to the pernicious influence of bank paper, as it will check importations of foreign goods, suppress what we call the credit system, and, by restoring a specie currency, reduce the wages of labor and the value of property!" And this argument, which Mr. Buchanan never conceived, (or, if he did, never expressed,) constituted a part of "honest John's" speech, and was heralded far and wide through the country; and was labelled and endorsed, and heralded back again, by every foul, filthy, false federal sheet in the land; and by every hired bank minion and corrupt demagogue in the shape of a stump speaker, from Daniel Webster down to the most contemptible whig whiffet of federal mimicry. I take it on myself to say, and hold myself responsible, that a more meretricious falsehood never was invented—a baser and more groundless falsehood never entered the head or heart of any man. It was a falsehood worthy to be conceived by a vile, vitiated brain; worthy to be cherished by a corrupt heart; worthy to be given birth to by a polluted and foul mouth; and worthy to be promulgated by a poisoned pen; and worthy to be endorsed by a reckless, unprincipled, and corrupt party. I have noticed this falsehood, though at first personal; but it was told and spread to deceive a nation, and it did deceive a nation. It contained in its beginning the crime of a falsehood, and in effect and end the injury of a falsehood. I name it and expose it, in connexion with others of a like character, that the individual community may guard themselves against the effects of such falsehoods in the coming contest, which will fall upon the country as leaves in autumn by the blight of frost.

But falsehood and slander, and the base, criminal, and treasonable auxiliaries which were brought to co-operate with

them, as I have said, were not the only resort of the federalists in 1840. There were other means, perhaps less criminal, but not less disgraceful, resorted to. I mean drunken orgies; empty displays; vulgar scenes; and exhibitions of coons, possums, skunks, empty barrels, old gourds, and snapping-turtles; profane sacrifices; Tippecanoe and Hartford banners. These disgraceful shows, senseless parades, and profane demonstrations, were as fatal to the good order of society, and the moral institutions of the country, as the CHANOS they effected was fatal to its political and pecuniary interests. Dignity of character, and morality of purpose, were alike sacrificed. All orders, all sexes, and all professions, of the entire federal family, were contaminated with the virus. Every institution and every temple, however sacred, was polluted. The temple of justice and the temple of religion, the judge's seat and sacred desk, were prostituted to the use and the level of the dogery, and the haunts of debauchery and dissipation. Yes, sir; not only were the ermine and the judgment-seat contaminated, but the sacred desk and the pulpit were polluted; and some of those who claim to be ministers of the gospel, ambassadors of our Saviour, and Heaven's bearers of despatches and glad tidings, standard-bearers of the holy cross, and those who administer the holy sacraments, prostrated themselves from their high and lofty station, to which none but apostles and ministers ordained by Heaven's sanction should presume to ascend,—even some of them, I say, prostrated themselves at the shrine of the corruptions and political iniquities of that time; and, in place of obeying the commands of their divine Master, in teaching the way of salvation to a dying world, were found playing the political missionary. In place of bearing witness to the truth of His holy religion, they were endorsing all the base, false, and infamous slanders and detraction which were propagated to overthrow the administration—slander and detraction worthy of the distempered brain of the reckless political desperado, the heart of corruption, and the tongue of poison.

I cheerfully recognise the right of every individual in the community to exercise the rights of a freeman; but while I hold sacred the names of Christian minister and apostle, I deem it a duty I owe to the holy religion, by which I hope for redemption and salvation in the world to come, to denounce the man who will abuse it, as unworthy to be its professional advocate. Yes, sir, some of *them* were found participating with, and mingling in, the drunken carousals that would have disgraced a bacchanalian feast, in the most degraded days of Greece. Such men are made for the tables of money changers, not for casting out devils. They might grace a gambler's board, but they would pollute a temple. For the honor of the holy religion of our fathers, and the sacred names of minister and apostle, I hope there were not many who so disgraced themselves, their name, and the religion which it is their profession to teach. But there were some. They will be marked, and made the subjects of religious and moral condemnation while they live, and wherever they go. Such were the demoralizing effects of *means* used in 1840, and such the *end* which justified the *means*. But, sir, other promises were made besides those of reform and retrenchment. We will examine them, and see how far they have been fulfilled. We were promised a sound currency, and plenty of it. How has that promise been fulfilled? It is useless for me to relate what everybody knows; and that is, that this administration has done nothing either to improve the currency, or to increase its quantity. So, under the general head of falsehoods, I place that to No. 2.

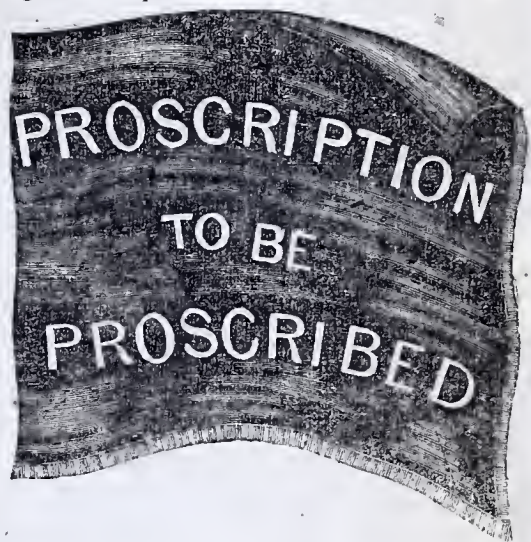
The people were told that treasury notes were an unconstitutional currency, and were the offspring of the independent treasury. They were denounced and ridiculed as "*Uncle Sam's shipplasters*." The constitution was to be preserved, and there was to be no more of such shipplaster currency. The whigs had not been in power three months, before they authorized the issue of millions of dollars in treasury notes; and they have constituted a vast portion of the national currency from that day to this. That is general falsehood No. 3.

The people were told, among the thousand other falsehoods about the independent treasury, that it was a dangerous executive engine, and that it placed the purse in the hands of the President, and gave him a dangerous control of the national treasury; and, if they obtained possession of this government, that dangerous executive control should be abolished. So, one of the first acts of the federal coon administration was to repeal the independent treasury, without making any provision for the safe-keeping and secure disbursement of the public revenue. The consequence was, that the President and his secretary, *ipso facto*, acquired the entire and uncontrolled possession and management of every dollar of the public revenue, and have so enjoyed it from that day to this. The violation of that promise I call falsehood No. 4.

It was urged that the administrations of General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren were proscriptive administrations; that they were administrations of a party and not of the people; that no man was permitted to share, in the discharge of official duties,

except those who were partisans to the principles and supporters of their administrations; merit, worth, honesty, and talents, were no recommendation, &c. All this was false; for, throughout both the administrations of Gen. Jackson and Mr. Van Buren, there were more federalists who held office under the general government than democrats. But I have no time to detail single whig falsehoods; I must limit myself to generals. It was said that such a system of unrelenting proscription was demoralizing, and was corrupting the morals and prostrating the patriotism of the nation; and, if the democracy could be overthrown, "*proscription should be proscribed*." "*Proscription proscribed*" was one of the federal coon banners.

Here Mr. DUNCAN held up a whig banner, bearing this inscription:



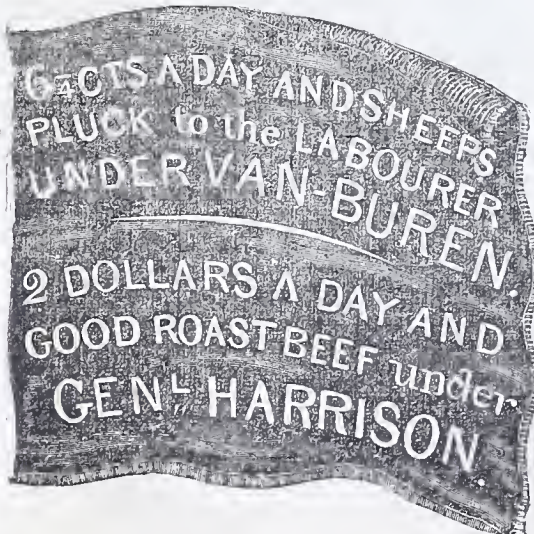
No man was to be turned out of office for opinion's sake. The only question was to be, "is he honest, is he capable." All this, it was well known, was contemptible cant and miserable hypocrisy. For one month before the presidential inauguration, this city was crowded with office-seekers, loafers, and loungers, lean, long, and lank, to the number (it was said) of more than thirty thousand. I know that every public and private house (and some houses that I shall not name) were full from garret to cellar; and filled as the houses were, it was impossible to walk ten steps at a time in the avenue, without being jostled by some staggering, hungry, federal loafer. They seemed to have flocked from every part and every longitude and every latitude, and every zone, torrid, temperate, and frigid, of this wide-spread Union, numerous as the locusts, the lice, and the frogs of Egypt, and more devouring and destructive. Old federalists, who had been driven into caves with the Adamases, where they had slept for forty years, waked up, came forth in their moth-riddled, antiquated garbs, staggering on their worm-eaten staves, dragging their withered, emaciated carcasses, and shaking their gray locks;—such a gathering never before was seen; such a gathering never will again be seen, until the sea shall give up her dead at the summons of the last trumpet. Well, the inauguration came, and with it, as a first step, the dismissal of every chief democratic officer at the head of every department of the government; then commenced the guillotine. The axe was not permitted to drive, nor the executioner to sleep; each head in each department vied with each other in

the work of execution. But Granger and Ewing went ahead, and even surpassed Robespierre, their worthy master and patron. The trial was more summary than that of the victims of the triumvirate. The inquiry to each victim was not, "*Is he capable, is he honest?*" It was, "Are you a democrat? Do you belong to the democratic association, and are you a subscriber to the Extra Globe?" The answer being in the affirmative, off went his head. Bring forward another; so it went. Such was the inquisition—such the guillotine—such the Robespierres, and such the fate of the victims.

Mr. Speaker, there were more men proscribed for opinion's sake the first six months of this administration, than there were from the first day of General Washington's administration, to the last day of Martin Van Buren's. So I make "*proscription proscribed*" general falsehood No. 6.

One of the charges of extravagance against Mr. Van Buren's administration was the "*princely manner*" in which the President's house was furnished. That falsehood was negated by the appropriation of six thousand dollars, made to furnish the President's house at the commencement of this administration. That appropriation was properly made; the President's house required it; but the application of the money was not made as intended. I do not know what was done with all the money: I think I know what was done with a part of it. I am told that near twenty-five hundred dollars was laid out in wines to furnish the cellar—not in furniture for the house. What will the honest, sober, tax-paying community say, when they learn that this *was-to-be* economical and reform administration used twenty-five hundred dollars of their money to purchase wines for the loafing, lounging, lank federal office-hunter to guzzle down. But I must be brief on each head; so I place the charge of extravagance of the President's house—"gold spoons, French bedsteads," &c.—to general falsehood No. 7.

The day-laborers were told that if they would join the federalists in the overthrow of the democratic party, they should receive two dollars a day and good roast beef. I hold a banner in my hand; here it is; and here is the promise. Here is the inscription. It reads:



This was your promise, and this your flag, displayed in all your cavalcades, and in all your hard-cider orgies and bacehanalian feasts far and wide.

How has that promise been fulfilled? Thousands of honest laborers will answer next fall through the ballot-box—that they can get but twenty-five cents a day and no beef at all. So I place that promise to the credit of No. 8.

The federalists in the last Congress made but one attempt at retrenchment; and that attempt was but insolent hypocrisy, and made to deceive. The democrats, in a former Congress, reduced the price of public printing fifteen per cent. When the federalists came into power prior to electing the government printers, they passed a resolution reducing the price of printing twenty per cent., or five per cent. more; and then elected Gales & Seaton printers. That was the show of retrenchment, and under that contract and resolution was the public printing done; but, in order to compensate for the reduction of the price, more printing was given to Gales & Seaton, by near one-half, than ever was given to public printers before by any Congress in the same length of time. But that was not all: at the close of the last session, and to one of the last appropriation bills, was made an amendment appropriating forty thousand dollars to Gales & Seaton, in addition to the price stipulated in the contract. Thus was the public treasury robbed to feed and fatten a pampered favorite partisan. So much for the only attempt to fulfil the promises of retrenchment. That hypocritical show and false pretence I mark No. 9.

Sir, my time, and the limits of a speech, will not permit me to prosecute the subject. If I had time I could fill a volume with these startling and damning falsehoods. I have selected those general and unvarnished ones, because they were connected with promises the more effectually to mislead the thoughtless and unwary; because they were appeals to the passions, to cupidity, and to avarice. When you hold up the promises made in 1840 to the federalists, and ask them, Why have you not made the retrenchments and reforms you promised in the government expenditures? Where is the plenty of money, and of good quality, you promised? Why have you not preserved that sacred principle of patriotism—toleration in office—for the abuse of which you so denounced the administrations of General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren? Why did you not "*proscribe proscription*?" Where is that brilliant prosperity you promised to every institution, to every interest, and to every person of the country? But above all, where is that two dollars a day and good roast beef you promised to the day laborer? The answer is, Oh! General Harrison died, and John Tyler turned traitor. Every sniffling whig whiffet, and bank spaniel, as well as every pompous puffed-up, haughty, federal, aristocratic rag-baron has that answer at his tongue's end.

General Harrison did die, but John Tyler did not turn traitor. Of General Harrison and his death, I have nothing to say. Peace be to his manes. If he had any faults in his life, I am the last to speak of them. Let his narrow tenement at North Bend conceal them. His virtues I will be first to speak of on all proper occasions. But I feel no restraint in saying that the man you elect to fill the highest station that man can occupy—to discharge duties the most important that can interest a nation—by such unhallowed means, and for such unhallowed purposes,—he will die, too, in one month. There is a Providence who superintends this nation. He holds its destinies in His hand; His track is to be seen in every path of the revolution.

that emancipated us; and he who cannot see His divine interposition throughout this administration is an infidel or a fool—he may have his choice. I predict that, if the same means are to be used by the federalists to secure the election of their candidate, I mean drunken orgies, empty and profane songs, coon-skins, hard-cider carousals, and their kindred and criminal means, perjury, treason, falsehood, corruption, bribery, swindling, and blasphemy; and the end to be effected by such means is to break down our free institutions, trample upon the constitution, and subvert human liberty,—the result will be as it has been. The workers of such iniquity will fall before the breath and vengeance of a just God, as grass before the scythe. I speak of the guilty, not of the innocent. But John Tyler did not turn traitor; John Tyler has done nothing to merit such a charge. This charge is made, because he vetoed the bank bill.

The whigs caught a Tartar when they elected John Tyler—that is, they elected an honest man. He was raised a democrat, and prior to 1832 had always been a democrat, and a member of the democratic party; some of his last official acts, when a member of the United States Senate, were directed with ability and eloquence against the Bank of the United States. He was a warm and ardent supporter of General Jackson, and all the leading measures of his administration, until what was called the proclamation made its appearance. To some of the doctrines contained in that paper, he took exceptions, and for a time withdrew his support and influence from the democratic party, under the supposition that he had abandoned the democratic principles. The whig Harrisburg convention nominated him for Vice President, with a view to unite the whig slaveholders of the South with the whig abolitionists of the North against the democracy of the North and South. Mr. Tyler was not questioned as to his political principles prior to his election; consequently, he was under no pledge as to what measures he would or would not support. President Harrison died; Mr. Tyler took his place, untrammelled to any party, bound alone by motives and principles of patriotism, with a free judgment, and I believe an honest heart. Soon after the executive duties devolved on him, the extra session was called, and one of the first acts of the session was to pass a bill to incorporate a national bank. John Tyler vetoed it, and that is his great offence; for it, he has been denounced far and wide, by every hireling whig press, as a traitor, and by every whig demagogue as a scoundrel. The short of the story is, that the whigs were playing a fraudulent game when they elected John Tyler, and they got caught in their own net. I am no Tyler man, but it is due to my feelings and to justice, to say that the democracy and the country owe Mr. Tyler a debt of gratitude which will only be paid when the party strife which overshadows good and rewards evil shall have passed away, and merit and worth shall have a place in the political history of our country.

When General Jackson heard that John Tyler had vetoed that bill of abominations, he thanked his God that “*we had one honest man left.*”

When General Jackson, in 1832, vetoed the bill to recharter the Bank of the United States, every heart and every tongue of every patriot was full of gratitude and praise. It was said that, under all circumstances then existing, (meaning the power of the bank and the strength and influence of the bank party,) there was no other man living who had

the nerve and the moral courage to brave the storm, but General Jackson. John Tyler did the same thing, under as fearful circumstances. Why should he not have the same amount of gratitude and praise? “*Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's.*”

Mr. Tyler has done things that I regret. I regret that he signed the bill to repeal the independent treasury. I regret that he signed the bankrupt bill, by which just claims to the amount of millions were repudiated, swindlers encouraged, and scoundrels discharged from their honest obligations. I regret, above all, that he signed the bill to provide for the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands—a measure that, in its effect and object, was designed to plunder the people and bribe the States. But of all this the democracy, as a party, have no right to complain. Mr. Tyler was not of their choice, nor is he indebted to them for his situation. He has done all for the democracy that they could hope, and more than they had a right to expect.

Permit me to take this occasion to say that no blame is to be attached to the President for the profligacy and extravagance of this administration. It was the people's representatives in the House and Senate who made the appropriations of the people's money, and not the President. Let the blame rest where it properly belongs. “Let justice be done, though the heavens should fall.”

Mr. Speaker, from the very nature of our government, and from the nature of the representative character, the people have a right to demand and to know the principles and the measures which shall govern and be sustained by every candidate for office in the event of his election; and that right to demand carries with it the duty and the obligation, on the part of the candidate, to answer all interrogatories, made in a proper manner, and from proper motives, touching the duties, measures and principles, which shall govern him in the event of his election. That right and that duty were both violated in the contest of 1840, by the federal candidates for office. The candidate for the presidency was interrogated as to what measures and what principles would govern him in the event of his election? Those interrogatories were put to him from proper motives, and in a proper manner; but he refused to answer, and the people were given to understand that he would give “*no opinion for the public eye.*” A national bank, a high protective tariff, the independent treasury, the assumption of the State debts, and the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, were all questions in which the people felt a deep interest. They were the great questions which had often agitated the country, and had divided the two great parties from the commencement of the government to that time, and still continue to do so. But it was a part of the whig organization to conceal their principles, and to substitute an honest and fearless expose of principles with log cabin parades, Tippecanoe songs, coon-skin displays, and such disgraceful flummery. When the whigs were cornered, and compelled to show their hand, they denied that they were in favor of those high-toned federal measures which had always characterized the federal party, and which had always been acknowledged as federal measures.

Mr. Speaker, I am one of those who believe that the march of intellect and moral and philosophical improvement has not been so great as some suppose. I believe that mankind would now be what they were many thousand years ago, if they were surrounded by the same or similar circumstances.

That we have not improved in many of the arts and sciences, both architectural and fine, the monuments of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, that have survived the destructive hand of time for more than three thousand years, plainly demonstrate. They display, at this day, a mechanical and philosophical power, and a success in fine arts, which no wisdom of this day can imitate. The pyramids of Egypt, the temples and lofty columns (though in ruins) of Greece, and the obelisks of Rome, not only surpass our imitation, but confound our wonder. Paintings are yet to be found, that have survived half the age of the world, whose delicacy and beauty confound the most splendid artists of our day, and from which every artist must take lessons, before he can be considered accomplished. Nor, even in this Christian day, and this Christian land, have we improved in morals and religion. The Egyptians, for want of a revealed Deity, worshipped crocodiles, cats, snakes, and toads. The Grecians worshipped owls, and held their drunken feasts, in congregated thousands, in honor of Bacchus, and carried and displayed jugs of wine and baskets of grapes, and decorated themselves with vine-leaves. The Romans nourished and revered geese, and through and by them expected political blessings and domestic happiness. The whig portion of this nation, with a revealed religion, a revealed Deity, and a Divine Mediator, adore and worship coons, possums, snapping-turtles, and skunks, and through and by them expect political prosperity and domestic happiness, now and hereafter; and, Grecian like, they hold their drunken carousals in congregated thousands, in which they display their gourds of hard cider and their baskets of parched corn and corn-dodgers, and ornament themselves with buckeye leaves. Sir, I think we have made no such advancements as we sometimes boast of. I can fancy too, sir, that I can see wisdom in some of the ancient customs and usages, even in pagan countries and pagan times, which we have almost lost sight of. Some of the ancients were in the habit of consulting their augurs and soothsayers as to the probable result of great national undertakings, as well as to the result of private enterprise. The augurs and soothsayers determined their judgment and their predictions by an inspection of the entrails of animals; and in certain qualities which they perceived by such inspections, they disclosed and foretold the fate of battles and the prosperity or ruin of kingdoms and downfall of nations; and even the motives and secret springs and principles of the human heart, were read in those anatomical inspections. That piece of ancient wisdom led me to a research after whig principles in the absence of any and all declaration of principle; for I perceive that the whig party are determined to conduct the coming political contest in the same manner and by the same means by which it was conducted in 1840. There is to be "*no declaration of principles for the public eye.*" A political friend of mine sent me a drawing of a dissected coon, with a polite and respectful note, asking me to make some public use of it to the end that whig principles might be gene-

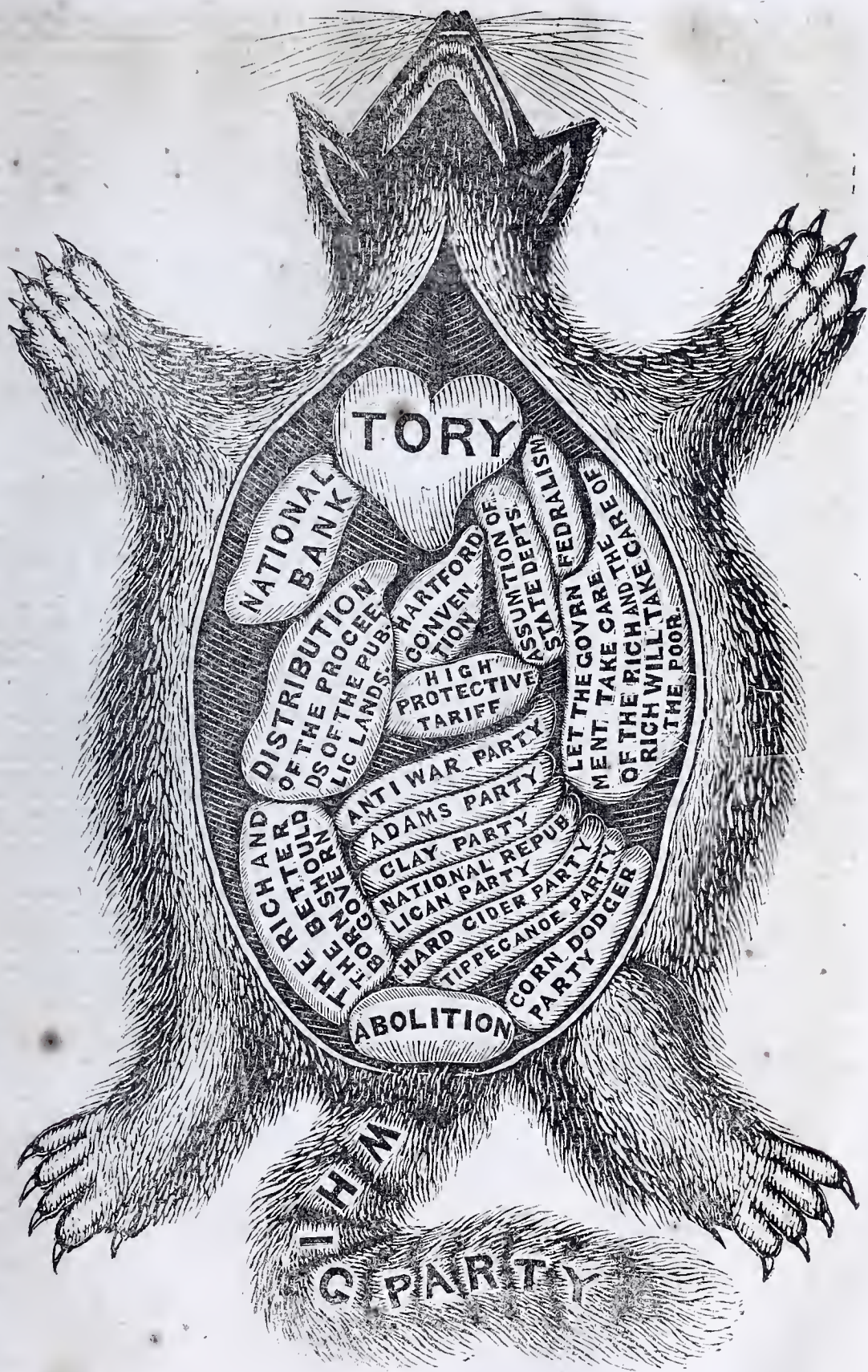
rally understood. I have carefully examined the internal viscera of this beast of whig pagan adoration.

[Here Mr. D. held up a beautiful painting of a coon, with the entire internal viscera exposed, and each organ and part colored to life.]

I find (said Mr. D.) this animal to contain within the cavity of its abdomen, all the leading principles of the federal party. The measures which have ever distinguished them as a party, and the names they have assumed at different times for political effect. The characters, initials and hieroglyphics, demonstrating modern whig principles, measures, and names, are Greek; from which it would appear that this same old coon lived in the days of the Grecian republics, three thousand years ago. I have deciphered and translated the Greek characters, and have supplied their place with the English translation; and, when thus translated, the following result appears, viz: In the heart of this coon—which may not only be regarded to some extent the seat of life, but also the seat of good and evil passions,—I say in the heart of this coon are found the secret principles of the whig party expressed in the word "tory," plainly and distinctly written. On the right lobe of the lungs is written "national bank," and on the left, "old federalism"—all within the cavity of the thorax. Below the diaphragm, and within the cavity of the abdomen, we find the balance of the whig principles, measures, and names, distinctly marked, beginning with the pancreas, and descending through the whole line of the abdominal contents. To save the time of anatomical demonstration, I will merely name, at present, the whig principles and names as I find them disclosed in the bowels of this beast; and, for the benefit of all my readers, I will procure a cut, to accompany my speech in pamphlet form, which will give them an ocular demonstration of whig principles, which it has so long been the effort of the party to conceal from the "*public eye.*" But to progress: on one organ is marked "Hartford convention;" on another, "protective tariff;" on another, "assumption of the State debts;" on another, "distribution of the proceeds of the public lands;" on another, "the rich and well-born should govern;" on another, "let the government take care of the rich, and the rich will take care of the poor." So much for whig principles. Now for the different names which the party have assumed for the purposes of political effect and political deception. Here they are to be found in the bowels of this same old coon:—federal party, anti-war party, bank party, Adams party, Clay party, national republican party, antimasonic party, log-cabin party, hard-cider party, Tippecanoe party, corn-dodger party, abolition party, and, in the tail-end of this coon, we find the last name—whig party:—tory at heart, and whig in the tail!

I have examined the brain of this animal with great care, but I can find neither characters nor hieroglyphics, ancient or modern, which can guide me to any conclusion other than that, like most of those who make it an object of adoration, it (the brain) is of small quantity and of poor quality.

WHIG PRINCIPLES.



But, sir, these are not all the advantages and discoveries I have drawn from the anatomical examination I have made, and thus disclosed in "*this same old coon*;" I perceive very distinctly, by the disordered state of the various organs which I have examined, that they plainly predict the entire overthrow of the federal party, and, with their overthrow, the downfall of all their high-toned federal measures. Their fate seems to be as distinctly marked in the entrails of this animal of whig adoration, as was the fate of Belshazzar upon the wall of his palace chamber; and all the terror that seized him, now shakes them.

I think, sir, I can perceive, with the same distinctness which guided the ancient oracles, in the bowels of this emblem of whig principles, the very States which will cast their votes for the democratic nominee of the convention to be held in Baltimore. I predict from these signs, with oracular certainty, that Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, New Jersey, New York, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Maine, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Connecticut, will triumph in the election of their respective number of democratic electors, which will be one of the most triumphant and glorious victories which the democracy of this country or any other ever gained. This is my prediction; and let no whig pagan so profane himself and his coon religion as to repudiate it; for it is drawn from irresistible signs, displayed in the vitals of the animal of his most sacred and political devotion and reverence. Then I would say, in the spirit of all candor, Go ahead, democrats—the signs are in your favor. Unfurl your banner to the breeze. Triumph will be yours. Victory will once more perch upon the democratic standard. Once more you will teach the revilers of republican government, and the enemies of free institutions, that the people are capable of self-government.

Mr. Speaker, patriotism is the spirit by which our political fabric is held together. The elective franchise is the soul of our republic, and the freeman's boast. Let it be supported, and it will support all the rest; all will be safe. The solemnity of the legal and judicial oath is the sheet-anchor of all our moral, religious, and political institutions. Let corruption pollute the ballot-box, and perjury corrupt the sacred sanctuary of truth, and all is lost. Our institutions, political, moral, and religious, will all sink together, and the offspring will be as it was in the French revolution. Your legislative halls will present but scenes of butchery. Plunder, murder, and arson, will be but legalized crimes. And, too, as in the French revolution, your Sabbath will be changed to a decade, and the house of God

to a stable. The word of God and your revealed religion will be paraded through your streets on an ass, in contemptuous ridicule, and consumed on bonfires. Your Redeemer will be postponed to a murderer, and your Maker to a prostitute, styled the goddess of Reason. Your judiciary will be converted into a triumvirate; your seats of justice into a guillotine; and your fields will be drenched in blood. These, sir, will fill the measure of such iniquity, such frauds, such perjury, and such treason, as were practised in 1840, if persisted in, unchecked and unrestrained.

The passage of this bill will destroy the temptation and the means to perpetrate such violence. Let the whirlwinds and tempests of party spirit and party passion run mountain high; the safety of the republic, the purity of the ballot-box, and the security of our free institutions, will not be drawn into the vortex and wreck of ruin. Can we not lay aside all party feelings for this time, and on this occasion, and come up as one man in support of this measure? Now is the time—now is the day. We are on the eve of another presidential election, which will elicit every feeling and every corrupt passion which party strife can engender; and is there not danger that the same scenes of 1840 will be acted over? Is there not danger that our moral, our political, our free, and our religious institutions, may receive another shock, which may palsy them beyond recovery?

Sir, my heart is fixed and set on the passage of this bill; and I feel as though I have a right to appeal to the patriotism of this House for its support; and if I had the voice of thunder, I would extend that appeal to the remotest parts of this Union. I would awaken the attention of every patriot, of every lover of human liberty, and of our free institutions and their duration, to the support of this measure. I would invoke him, in the name of human liberty, and on behalf of his free institutions, by which he expects to perpetuate that liberty; in the name of that majesty which is his, by the rights of a freeman, to send forth his voice to this hall, and demand, and command his representative to support this bill—to make this bill a law of this land.

I would extend that appeal, too, to every press, the potent engine of human liberty, and the terror of crowned heads. I would ask them to raise the strong arm and the loud voice in favor of this bill. I would say to them, now is the time, and this is the occasion, which demand that influence which is theirs. I would ask that same influence in behalf and in support of this measure, which has demolished thrones, torn crowns from the heads of despots, broken crostiers, and redeemed nations.